HUMAN EVENTS

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News Section *Printed in Two Sections*

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Decisive Day: Last Monday, with the President's decision to send troops into Lebanon, the die was cast.

But was it Ike's decision? Those who participated in last week's solemn conferences, morning and afternoon, say that the "strong man" who carried the day for the Lebanon landing was the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Air Force General Twining.

A capsule version of Twining's argument, as relayed by inside sources, runs as follows: the Iraq coup resulted from failure to heed Twining's advice of three weeks ago to go into Lebanon immediately. "Face" is important in the Middle East, and adventurers among the military in Baghdad took it as a sign that the US intended to abandon the area—then acted to get on the Nasser-Moscow bandwagon.

Twining feared a chain reaction, if we let this Iraq coup go unchallenged, among other, hitherto pro-Western, nations—Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Iran. Not the least of his worries was Turkey.

> **Our intelligence has warned of the possibility of a military coup in Turkey. The Turks have become disgusted with the US failure to provide them with military and economic aid, while we generously provision the Communist countries of Poland and Yugoslavia. Although the American Congress voted Turkey $300 million in economic aid a year ago, the International Cooperation Administration, dominated by pro-Tito thinking, did not transfer one dollar of these funds to Turkey.**

If the Middle East should go into the Moscow orbit, oil supplies on which Western Europe depends would be threatened, and Britain and France would inevitably be swayed by the Moscow axis, weakening the US position against Soviet Russia. Such were the military's arguments.

Finally, the Joint Chiefs emphasized their fear that continuation of "soft" policies and failure to act against Nasser-Moscow coups would, by eliminating pro-Western nations, imperil our ring of air and missile bases which, by "deterrence," protect the cities and soil of the United States. Twining gave it as his considered opinion that Soviet Russia would not—as a result of US intervention—risk plunging into World War III.

Fundamentally, the course chosen on "decisive Monday" was dictated by military strategy, laid down by the Air Force, Army and Navy.

● Behind the closed doors of the Monday afternoon conference with congressional leaders, party lines split. Senator Theodore Green (D.-R.I.), Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, joined with Senator William F. Knowland (R.-Calif.), Senator Styles Bridges (R.-N.H.) and Secretary Dulles to support Twining's presentation.

Members say that the President sat "grey and drawn," reluctant to make a decision. Opposition to the military argument found expression principally from "liberal" Senator Mike Mansfield (D.-Mont.). Significant of the turn of feeling among the legislative leaders was no little agreement that we should never have prevented the British-French-Israeli combine from overthrowing Nasser in November, 1956.

● Criticism of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), for failing to detect and thwart the Baghdad coup, ran high among the legislators. Some of the Senators were amazed to learn that the CIA was looking for the wrong coup in the wrong place in the week preceding the Baghdad affair. (According to reliable information conveyed to HUMAN EVENTS, CIA was warning of a pro-Nasser coup in Jordan's capital, to assassinate young King Hussein.)

Grumbling against Secretary Dulles also arose, with professional Democratic critics demanding a review of his policies. Conservative Republicans, however, thought that any probe should be directed against the New Dealish bureaucracy of the State Department (which Dulles, despite GOP urgings, has never cleaned out).

Much of the impetus of the pro-Nasser gestures from the State Department, it is claimed, comes from the old Truman-Acheson bureaucracy, which has a deliberate policy of skimping our friends (Turkey in the Middle East and Korea and Formosa in the Far East) while ladling out aid to Tito and Gomulka, not to mention Nehru of India. Their consideration, GOP critics say, is to keep the Arab bloc "on our side" by massive give-away programs.

As one Republican legislator put it, "that's an enormous rathole for foreign aid which seems more important to them than Europe or places like South Korea and Formosa." Senatorial critics blame C. Douglas Dillon, Deputy Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, who holds sway over ICA policy, for this approach. If the Senate probe on the Middle East gets under way, more may be heard of this angle.

Meanwhile, "liberal" Democrats seek to increase Government spending, seizing the Middle East crisis as just one more opportunity to infiltrate more socialism into the economic system.

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● Fears of many members of Congress that the venture into Lebanon was following too closely the ill-starred experience in Korea eight years ago found expression in the remarks of Senator Jenner (R.-Ind.), when he reminded the Senate that "we have one tragic experience with letting our men serve under United Nations command, only to have victory, won with their blood, snatched from them by the United Nations."

The Indiana Senator thereupon introduced a resolution providing that the President of the United States may not transfer any member of our armed forces to any such international jurisdiction, and stating that this limitation is binding regardless of indirect amendments of our Constitution by means of treaty law. (This latter safeguard was one of the objectives of the Bricker Amendment.)

● Intelligence sources in Washington are warily watching for a Soviet move against Iran, possibly in Azerbaijan province. Whether this would be directly or by "indirect means," no one knows at present. These sources say such a thrust seems to be the indicated countermeasure against US and British actions in the Middle East. Failure to make such a move will be interpreted as an evidence of Soviet caution.

Adams Successor? Opinion divides, among Republican members of Congress, as to the acceptability of various Administration officials who have been mentioned as likely successors to Sherman Adams, should Adams resign his post as Presidential Assistant. One is White House Assistant General Wilton Persons; another, Secretary of the Interior Fred Seaton.

Conservatives favor Persons, who has handled congressional contacts smoothly and amiably. Modern Republicans favor Seaton. Seaton has the advantages of looks, youth and charm; and even conservatives admit that he would handle matters on Capitol Hill with better grace and ability than has Adams. Seaton, however, has a thought-provoking record which pops up in cloakroom arguments. After the death of Senator Kenneth Wherry (R.-Nebr.), the Governor of Nebraska appointed Seaton to serve the remainder of Wherry's term.

The young Nebraska publisher sat in the Senate during the 1952 term and made a record so "liberal" that the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), the principal socialistic force in America, rated him its favorite Senator. He voted the ADA way on eight out of nine issues (in contrast to his GOP colleague, the late Senator Hugh Butler, whom the ADA rated "wrong" on all issues).

At the time, September 11, 1952, the Chicago *Tribune* commented editorially: "It is hardly necessary to ask whether Seaton or Butler represents the outlook of Nebraska Republicans. Seaton last went before the voters in 1948, when he was defeated for the legislature after serving two terms. He was appointed to fill the vacancy in the Senate created by the death of Senator Wherry. He made no attempt in the primary this summer to win election to the Senate on his own. Governor Peterson, who appointed him, was soundly drubbed when he tried to capture the Senate nomination from Senator Butler. . . . Seaton is now in charge of Eisenhower headquarters in Washington. Seaton, the pet Republican Senator of the ADA, is one of the front men in Eisenhower's show."

Concern is apparent among business circles. Their representatives in Washington report the fear that Seaton, if installed in the seat of power in the White House, may turn the Administration's policy on electric power to the left. Since he has been Secretary of the Interior he has gone along with Ike's "partnership" policy, which has prevented the launching of big Federal hydroelectric dams in the manner of Roosevelt and Truman. Those who have watched Seaton closely, however, are apprehensive that he might, if he went into the White House, swing the President to the policy of Federalized electric power.

● *In the last 48 hours, the Capitol Hill grapevine has it that Seaton is already performing for the White House certain jobs previously handled by Adams.*

Not Merely Gossip: There has arisen a little flurry of talk, in GOP circles, that the President might resign if Adams left. Investigation by HUMAN EVENTS brings the following report: Cliff Roberts, the President's golfing partner and a Wall Street broker, wrote Adams, strongly criticizing him for bringing discredit to the President and requesting that he resign. This much has appeared in the press. What hasn't appeared is that Roberts then talked with the President about his letter, and the President reacted violently in favor of Adams. Ike is reported to have said: "If Sherman goes, I go."

This news has got around in some circles, but responsible White House sources say that Ike talked only in a fit of anger and did not mean what he said. Discussion of the matter, however, goes on among Republicans.

● In Democratic cloakrooms, the word is passed that former President Truman, on his return to the US last week, told high-up Democrats he intends to devote the next two years to a campaign to prevent the nomination of Adlai Stevenson in 1960.

High Court: Capitol Hill is jubilant over the smashing victory scored by conservative forces last week, as a coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats powered through a bill nullifying the damage wrought by the Supreme Court in its 1956 *Nelson* decision, and stating in unmistakable language the intent of Congress to preserve states' rights against the "pre-emptive" Federal encroachments favored by the Warren Court and other leftists.

The conservative coalition turned back repeated attempts by left-wing legislators to tack crippling amendments to the bill. The final strong version that went through, a combination of bills offered by Congressman Howard Smith (D.-Va.) and Congressman Francis Walter (D.-Pa.), passed by the thumping margin of 241-155. Deemed significant was the heavy Republican vote in favor of the bill (138 of the votes were from GOP Congressmen), in spite of Administration opposition to it. The Republican insurgents were led by conservative Congressman Edgar Hiestand (Calif.),* who says that the

* Hiestand is a long-time friend and subscriber of HUMAN EVENTS. He writes: "I can thank HUMAN EVENTS for my being in Congress today. I received a gift subscription to HUMAN EVENTS when it was started and have been a subscriber ever since."

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states' rights bill "is the most important piece of legislation to come out of this session to date," and who predicts that it will pass the Senate.

The conservative victory confirmed the HUMAN EVENTS forecast of June 23, 1958, which reported that "those who count heads in the House say the Smith bill has the votes to pass," and which pointed up the opportunity for constituents to tell their legislators where they stood on the matter of curbing the Court.

Congressman William M. Tuck (D.-Va.), in a statement to HUMAN EVENTS, stressed the historic significance of the bill's passage. "This is the first successful legislative move," he said, "to offset the recent disturbing pattern of 'liberal' decisions handed down by the Supreme Court."

● Another significant development concerning the High Court was a Senate speech delivered by Senator James O. Eastland (D.-Miss.), July 10. Scoring a recent group of the Court's "soft" decisions on the US Communist party, Eastland inserted into the *Record* a tabulation of "security" votes cast by the Justices who make up the Warren Court.

On the basis of Eastland's tabulation, Justice Hugo Black came off with the worst record of anti-anti-communism—with a 71-0 record of votes against internal security. The best record possessed by any sitting Justice is that of Tom Clark, whose record shows 33 votes in favor of security safeguards, 18 against—far from a good record, but better than the others.

Here is the tabulation:

	Against Security	*For Security*	*Pro-Security Percentage*
Black	71	0	0
Douglas	66	3	.04
Warren	36	3	.08
Brennan	18	2	.10
Frankfurter	56	16	.22
Harlan	20	14	.41
Burton	32	37	.54
Whittaker	4	7	.64
Clark	18	33	.65

"Perhaps we cannot say what the Court is trying to do," declared Eastland, but "we can see what it is doing: it is moving step by step, decision by decision, toward establishing the Communist conspiracy in the United States as a legal political entity."

Nuclear Weapons: Opponents of the campaign to divest America of its nuclear arsenal hail a series of pronouncements by clergymen of the Western world, rebuking the pacifism that has sometimes been preached under the guise of Christian teaching. (For example, the recent "message" adopted by the Presbyterian Church of the USA, which proclaimed that "we today must coexist with Communist nations. In this nuclear age, the only alternative to coexistence is coextinction."*)

Running counter to clerical professions of pacifism and willingness to compromise with Red tyranny was the declaration of Anglican Bishop C. M. Chavasse, who declared that World War III would be preferable to Communist slavery. In an evil world, he said, "war can be the lesser of two evils."

In America, Father John Courtney Murray similarly went on record in favor of stern opposition to Communist aggression. Father Murray, rejecting "coexistence," recommended a program of "continuous engagement at every point, on all levels of action by both tactical and strategic moves." In a debate with left-wing historian Walter Millis (published by the Fund for the Republic last week under the title, *Foreign Policy and the Free Society*), the well-known Catholic theologian also declared his conviction that "force and the prospects of success by its use are the determinants of Soviet action."

This point, he said, "would suggest that we put an end, as quietly as possible, to the Wilsonian era of diplomacy with its exaggerated trust in world assemblies and in spectacular international conferences."

Attracting even more attention than the statements of Chavasse and Murray were the remarks of Dr. Geoffrey Fisher, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the leading Protestant figure of England. Writing in a symposium on communism and nuclear weapons, Dr. Fisher rebuked pacifist arguments that Communist slavery was preferable to nuclear war. "Policy," he said, "should not be based simply on fear of pain. . . . I cannot establish any policy merely on whether or not it will save the human race from a period of suffering or from extinction."

Shortly before the storm that broke over this statement, the Archbishop had formulated another cogent declaration on the morality of nuclear weapons. In a diocesan letter, he said: "It is wrong to say that they are of their nature evil. Like any other thing, their value for good or evil depends entirely on the use to which men put them. It is the Christian duty of our statesmen to defend this country and, if in the discharge of that duty they believe that the possession of this deterrent is necessary, it is their duty to act on that belief."

US Captives: Acclaimed in the Capital last week were the words of House Democratic Leader John W. McCormack (Mass.), as he called for vigorous action to secure the freedom of American personnel imprisoned abroad. "The dignity of our nation is involved," McCormack said, "because they're American citizens."

The Democratic leader added: "If the Soviet Union does not bring about their release within a reasonable period, I think our country would be justified in strongly indicating that there would be a severance of diplomatic relations."

"We all know that East Germany is controlled by the Kremlin," McCormack continued, "so their argument that East Germany is a sovereign nation is fallacious."

McCormack's words are viewed here as an indication that Americans, of whatever party, are at the end of their patience with US appeasement of communism.

Primaries: Washingtonians are keeping a weather eye on two impending primaries, in the "just-inside-the-border" Southern states of Tennessee and Texas, which pit conservative Democrats against "liberal," pro-civil rights incumbents. In Texas, former Senator William Blakley,

* This statement was vigorously attacked by Presbyterian laymen and a minister from Pittsburgh. In a telegram to President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles, the group said:

"We of the Presbyterian Church are abjectly ashamed of our General Assembly's recent pronouncement demanding coexistence with Communist Russia when the Church's sole message should be a call for obedience to God's word as the only hope for mankind."

"Hypocrisy should be abhorrent to Christians," continued the Presbyterian group, "when a glaring example is church leaders calling for any compromise with the militant Godless of communism."

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a protégé of ex-Governor Allan Shivers, is running for the Democratic Senatorial nomination against Ralph Yarborough, a far-left Democrat and long-time enemy of Shivers forces in the Lone Star State. Yarborough voted last year for the "civil rights" bill, a fact which is being thrown up at him in the developing campaign.

In Tennessee, former Governor Prentice Cooper is waging a fighting campaign against "liberal" incumbent Senator Albert Gore.

HUMAN EVENTS sources in touch with the campaign say that Gore, who had considered his renomination safely in the bag, is now in deep trouble (a fact which does not chafe Gore's Senatorial colleagues, who confide a dislike for Tennessee's junior Senator even greater than that they harbor for Estes Kefauver). Cooper's campaign has been based squarely on the issues of states' rights, segregation and foreign aid. He has scathed Gore as a "global, one-world do-gooder," and blasted his stand on "civil rights" issues. Gore, says Cooper, "has consistently voted with the NAACP, and with the pink-tinged Americans for Democratic Action."

Modern GOP: Further notes on the demise of Modern Republicanism—and bitter ones for GOP candidates who must campaign for their political lives this fall—include the story of difficulties encountered by Republican fund-raisers as they attempt to build a war chest for the impending battle for Congress.

The money-collecting campaign is lagging badly—principally because the businessmen who are the GOP's traditional source of funds have had their fill of "modernism" in the White House, and have sworn off giving it any financial aid.

In a front-page story last week, *The Wall Street Journal* quoted Charles Thomas, recently chairman of the Republican Finance Committee: "The greatest danger [to the fund drive] is those Republicans who say 'We do not see now any fundamental difference between the Republican party and the Democratic party.'"

And a GOP Congressman is quoted as saying: "There is a large and growing group of private contributors who just don't like the way the Administration has adopted the 'liberal' approach. They feel Eisenhower has drifted away from the type of conservative Administration he promised when he first took over from Truman."

Labor Front: Revealing the methods by which Walter Reuther's "Committee on Political Education" operates is a story emanating from Idaho, where Democratic politicos are busily in search of a candidate to oppose conservative Republican Congressman Hamer Budge. The story, say Washingtonians, brings into the open some aspects of COPE procedure which have hitherto been kept away from the public gaze.

John Corlett, writing in the Boise, Idaho, *Statesman* for July 2, 1958, disclosed that the Idaho Federation of Labor had asked "Glenn Dyer of Blackfoot, former business representative of Pocatello Local 648, of the Plumbers and Fitters Union, to withdraw as a candidate for the Democratic nomination as Second District Congressman."

Reason: Dyer "had not conformed with the constitution of COPE by asking the proper committee of COPE whether he should seek the nomination in the first place."

Dyer charged that he was summoned to a meeting of the labor officials in Boise, and told that COPE would finance his campaign if he would go along with them "all the way." (Union officials denied that any deal had been offered Dyer.) Dyer, who has stayed in the race, remarks on his campaign: "I may not win, but believe me I will sleep good."

Scandals: Senator Homer Capehart (R.-Ind.), appearing last week on Ruth Hagy's TV interview, "College News Conference," called attention to the contrast between the records of the Republican and Democratic administrations in the matter of corruption.

"I was chairman of the so-called FHA scandal committee in 1954," Capehart recalled, "and I might say as a result of that investigation that I was chairman of, over 800 people have gone to the penitentiary. . . . I think we have had 804 convictions and there has been returned to the Federal Government several millions of dollars."

(Other contrasts between the Truman and Eisenhower regimes were suggested in the HUMAN EVENTS article, "The Truman Scandals vs. The Eisenhower Scandals," by Jules Abels, June 30, 1958. The story of the FHA investigation referred to by Capehart is contained in Chapter 18 of the Abels book, *The Truman Scandals*, which may be obtained from HUMAN EVENTS for the bookstore price of $4.)

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The Senate's Free-Spending McNamara

By WILLARD EDWARDS
Capitol Hill correspondent for The Chicago *Tribune*

THE MOST ASTONISHED winner on election night in November, 1954, was Pat McNamara, a hulking, red-faced political unknown, who contemplated, in awed disbelief, the returns which made him Michigan's Senator-elect. Long after newspaper headlines had proclaimed his victory, McNamara was hesitating to believe it.

He was incredulous, uneasy and confused, a state of mind not foreign to one who had courted schizophrenia for many years by serving, at one and the same time, as (a) president of a labor union and (b) a high-salaried industrial executive.

McNamara is now trying for a second six-year term. In the intervening years, he has frequently displayed on the Senate floor an agitated bewilderment which sometimes explodes into rage against criticism. On such occasions, he quivers with indignation, all 240 pounds of him.

He cannot be happy as he contemplates the path to re-election, strewn with obstacles which a kindly fate removed on his first attempt. It is questionable that he really wants to serve again but he has been infected by that deadly fever which detains office-holders in Washington once they are installed here.

The greatest handicap facing McNamara in 1960, *missing in* 1954, *is his six-year voting record. This stamps him as one of the Senate's freest spenders of the taxpayers' money for programs which can only be financed by keeping taxes crushingly high.*

The revealing roll call analysis of Americans for Constitutional Action, recently published, shows that McNamara never marred his career by a single vote in behalf of sound money or against inflation. He consistently opposed legislation designed to protect individual liberties and supported government intervention at all levels of American living.

He had a perfect zero record through the years and wound up at the tail end of the Senate list which indexed the percentages in favor of safeguarding or strengthening constitutional rights and guaranties. He never hesitated to vote for any bill which dug another billion or two out of the taxpayers' pockets.

Since Michigan in recent years has become familiar with the financial crisis brought on by reckless state fiscal policies, the voters may be expected to be sensitive to the spending proclivities of candidates this fall.

But there are additional reasons for McNamara to be despondent. He cannot expect, this time, the intervention of fate in the form of a rival's unexpected death which dumped the Democratic nomination in his lap six years ago.

Nor can he hope for a Republican opponent like Senator Homer E. Ferguson who, in 1954, alienated an important segment of conservative voters in order to retain the dubious benefits of the Eisenhower Administration's endorsement. Yet Ferguson lost the election by only 39,000 votes out of 2,137,976 cast.

This was a stunning upset and a surprise to everyone but Walter Reuther whose United Automobile Workers union had poured $700,000 into the campaign in behalf of McNamara.

McNamara had been an obscure candidate in the Democratic primary against Senator Blair Moody. He didn't have a prayer. Governor "Soapy" Williams and the Congress of Industrial Organizations were perfectly satisfied with Moody. Then Moody died suddenly and McNamara won the nomination by default.

Reuther regarded McNamara with a great lack of enthusiasm. He had no particular love for an American Federation of Labor union president (this was before the AFL-CIO merger).

Details of any deal between Reuther and McNamara are lacking and must be deduced from the record of devoted loyalty to Reuther's interests which McNamara has written since his elevation to the Senate.

Reuther was apparently satisfied that he would get his money's worth because the UAW coffers were opened and the state treated to a spending campaign in behalf of the Democratic candidate which startled the political world. A $700,000 estimate of the fund was given the Senate later by Senator Karl Mundt (R.-S.D.). McNamara angrily called the amount "fiction."

Ferguson, meanwhile, was not helping his cause by stubbornly refusing to alter his opposition to the Bricker Amendment, a safeguard against abuse of Presidential power which had great appeal to conservatives. He thereby gained a White House smile but lost thousands of Republican votes.

In 1960, McNamara will have strong Republican opposition which will resist any compromise with conservative principles.

McNamara, known as "Old Gravel-voice" to irreverent Senate page boys, will rage at his op-

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ponents. He will not be able to use his favorite device for evading a situation which he finds disagreeable. This is the walk-out. It comes naturally to McNamara after a life in the labor movement, but it has occasioned some surprise in the Senate, not unmixed with envy.

His first political exercise of this strategy is still talked about in Detroit. McNamara was elected to the city council in 1946. A few months of meetings with his fellow councilmen convinced him that they were not the type with whom he wished to mingle.

In the midst of a council meeting, he picked up his papers and stalked out. He never returned. Some citizens may have felt that they were being deprived of representation but McNamara had a justifiable excuse for his actions.

"I choose not to be associated any longer with those jerks," he told a reporter.

HE STAGED his Senate walk-out in 1958. He had been picked by Democratic leaders to serve on the Senate Labor Rackets Investigating Committee, headed by Senator John L. McClellan (D.-Ark.). He played his role as a stout labor partisan for a time but his vacant seat was frequently conspicuous as the evidence of thievery and corruption began to pile up.

He finally resigned from the committee with a declaration that the hearings had been "rigged against labor." He later called upon the committee to dissolve itself as "dangerous . . . a sort of extra-legal police force."

The Michigan press was inclined to look upon McNamara's committee plight with some sympathy. He had, indeed, been on a hot spot, editorialists commented, especially during five weeks of hearings on the UAW strike at the Kohler, Wisconsin, plumbing war plant, which he boycotted almost entirely. But some question was raised concerning the Senator's method of evading his duties and the earlier incident of the city council walk-out was recalled.

This led to a typical McNamara performance on the Senate floor.

"Distortion and lies!" he trumpeted in regard to these newspaper comments. "Like the Russians, they are rewriting history to serve their purposes!"

McNamara grew up in Weymouth, Massachusetts, where he had two and one-half years of high school, then he became an apprentice pipefitter. He was 27 when he arrived in Detroit as foreman on a construction job. He became president of Pipe Fitters Union Local 636, a quarter of a century ago, and never relinquished the post. It is not a salaried position.

Meanwhile, he gradually rose to be sales manager and vice president of the Stanley-Carter Company, mechanical contractors. His salary was larger than the $22,500 he gets as a Senator.

He found nothing incongruous in working both sides of the labor-management street although he left no doubt where his sympathies resided. The labor movement, he said, was his avocation; management his vocation.

There is no evidence in his record of impartiality in any clash between labor and management. His words, votes, and actions are those of a union boss. He heatedly denies that he is Walter Reuther's Senator but his prime loyalty is demonstrably to the AFL-CIO.

JUST TURNED 65, McNamara is now a leading explorer of the vote-rich domain inhabited by 16 million elder citizens. Almost daily from his office come statements outlining grandiose plans, at untold cost, for dealing with the problems of the aged and aging. There are no bounds to his generosity with public money in behalf of free medical care, hospitalization, and public housing for the aged and he ridicules the idea that some of the elderly may be able to take care of themselves.

McNamara is putting his claims for endorsement and re-election before a state which has become a little touchy about debts and deficits created by irresponsible spending policies. It was able to meet the last payrolls of one fiscal year only because industry advanced its tax payments.

This spectacle was a warning to other states of what happens when the demands of pressure groups are placed ahead of the general welfare.

Unrestrained spending may have lost its appeal to Michigan voters. It may take more than $700,000 to push McNamara to victory next November.

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WISCONSIN STATE COLLEGE RIVER FALLS, WISCONSIN

Catholicism and Labor Unions

By JOHN E. COOGAN, S. J.
Professor of Sociology, West Baden College, Indiana

THIS PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION YEAR seems a time of insistent inquiry as to the position of the Catholic Church with respect to things bound to become political issues. The matter seems most compelling in the field of labor relations and unionism. This is so not merely because of the strong support the Catholic Senator Kennedy has given the unionists' cause, but because for many years the support of unionism by Catholic authorities—up to and including the Vatican—has been so commonly asserted by unionists.

"Let's look at the record" and see whether there are not some quite definite limitations to the Catholic acceptance of the sort of unionism we have in our country. Convinced Catholics not committed hook-line-and-sinker to American unionism are intensely humiliated at the supposed Catholic approval of secular unionism and welcome this chance to clear the air.

We cannot repeat too strongly that the unionism whose misconduct is described in some 50 volumes of the McClellan Committee hearings has never had partisan Roman support. As the outspoken Bishop of Reno, Robert J. Dwyer, has emphasized, "The Church is *not* for labor to the exclusion of all other claims of right and justice . . . . The Church has never made the fatal error of conceiving that labor and its problems are her sole concern, or that other elements of the social structure should be ignored and forgotten . . . .

> **There are many today, and among them not a few Catholic zealots, who would like to see the Church divorced from all other interests and married exclusively to labor. They would have her throw her balance overboard and concern herself solely with labor and its problems in a frankly partisan sense. They would have her declare for labor simply because it is labor, in total disregard for rights and justice."**

As to why the Church has come to be thought partisan, Bishop Dwyer adds, "The difficulty is that some theologians and Catholic publicists are prone to write and speak as though they were the Holy Father himself. Instead of stating the facts and drawing their conclusions, with emphasis upon the actual limitations of their authority, they sometimes create the impression that they have a private pipeline to infallibility."

In consequence of such misdirection, many Americans have gotten the impression that Leo XIII, "the pope of the workingman," wrote a sort of apologetic for American unionism in his famous encyclical *Rerum Novarum* of 1891. The fact is that Leo there declared that only morality and religion could solve our labor problems. "That," he later insisted, "is the reason why in encouraging Catholics to form associations that might better the lot of the working class, or in furthering other designs of this kind, we have never failed at the same time to warn them that such things must not be attempted without the sanction of religion, without including it in our plans and calling on its aid."

In the same spirit Pope St. Pius X refused to approve of even an interdenominational Christian union unless the Catholic members formed another association in which the moral and religious principles omitted from the interdenominational union were included. Finally, Pius XI in his momentous *Quadragesimo Anno* reaffirmed the stand of St. Pius X. In frank recognition of this reiterated fact that the type of unionism approved by the popes was not the type we have in America, the late Cardinal Mooney of Detroit sanctioned the following declaration of Paul Weber, then president of the Detroit Association of Catholic Trade Unionists.

"It is plain," Weber tells us, "that all too many of us are laboring under a serious confusion when we talk about Catholicism and unionism. The trouble is that we in the United States are talking about a different kind of union than those the popes had in mind when they laid down the rules." That statement came from Weber despite the fact that he is liberal enough to have acted as the press secretary of Governor Mennen Williams of Michigan—labor union candidate—during Williams' more than ten years in office.

THE ROMAN FEARFULNESS OF UNIONS divorced from religion we have strikingly reaffirmed in the Rome-approved Joint Pastoral of the 25 Archbishops and Bishops of the Quebec Civil Province in 1950. Roman authority declared "the August teachings of the Sovereign Pontiffs . . . could not have been more happily applied to present economic and social conditions in Canada." Moreover, the Roman authority added that the teachings of the Pastoral "attains universal value"—hence are directly pertinent to America. Moreover, the unions therein spoken of are our own international unions, headed by the men we know so well. The Pastoral in question affirms that unless a labor union is built on Christian principles and led by Christian men willing to be religiously guided, "the association will lead the worker astray to materialism; it will imbue him with a false concept of life eventually made known by harsh claims, unjust methods, and the omission of the collaboration necessary to the common good." Could we have been given a more perfect preview of the findings of the McClellan Committee, those findings which Senator McClellan moreover warned us merely scratched the surface?

The Roman opinion of such secular unionism as we have in America is further reflected in a strong statement made in 1956 by the then Archbishop Aloysius J. Muench, since elevated to the Cardinalate. A trained economist, his dissatisfaction with our unionism was long well known and must have been taken into consideration when he was

The Rev. John E. Coogan, S.J. also wrote "The Right to Work, The Moral and Religious Point of View," in the May 26, 1958 issue of HUMAN EVENTS.

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raised to his high position. The Cardinal enumerates some of the disorders of this unionism: Featherbedding, wild-cat strikes—not infrequently accompanied by destruction of property and attacks on fellow workers who do not countenance such strikes; the closed shop . . . collective bargaining used to make and compel unfair and even unjust demands; and secondary boycotts without thought of moral implications."

The Cardinal urges honest workers to join the the unions and try to raise their moral tone. But he will not sanction compulsory unionism. Such membership, he says, "cannot be imposed on the worker with absolute finality. There are situations in which he cannot, in conscience, be a member of certain unions: they may be radical, and in consequence a danger to his faith and morals; they may advocate practices which are contrary to all dictates of the law of God and to acknowledged principles of right conduct; in conscience he cannot by membership abet or approve them." But it may be replied, "Let the decent worker join and reform the union."

Here Cardinal Muench wearily rejoins, "It helps him little to be advised that he bring about a reform from within. Anyone who knows how tightly held official positions are in unions and how hardened policies of action have become will consider such advice as a counsel of despair." The Cardinal is in complete agreement with the various popes we have cited when he concludes that "the failings of organized labor have their origin in the fact that their code of policies has no intimate tie-up with the code of morality and with the pertinent tenets of religion."

THUS FAR we have been pointing out the fact that American secularized unionism is not the type of unionism approved of by the highest Roman authority. Let us now cite a few examples of Catholic criticism of unionism as it is actually working itself out among us: we have Msgr. Hubert A. Maino, associate editor of the official organ of the Detroit Archdiocese and himself a union advocate, admitting that "if you read the general run of publications put out by labor unions, you might easily get the impression that nearly all employers remain essentially similar to the industrial 'robber barons' of the turn of the century. They are portrayed as fattening on an inexhaustible flow of ill-gotten gains, while they scheme cynically to defraud the laborer of his hire and the public of its hard-earned cash."

The same most un-Christian effort to inflame class hatred is pointed out by Ed Marcinik, associate editor of the Catholic monthly, *Work*. He tells us that for the entire period of the independent existence of the AFL, a period of 74 years, the opening sentence of its constitution dedicated the unions to the class struggle: "A struggle is going on in all the countries of the civilized world," the sentence ran, "a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions, if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit." Neither Karl Marx nor Lenin could improve upon that!

In the light of such rabble-rousing, it is not to be wondered at that the lay-Catholic edited *Commonweal*, despite its union slant, charges that "many times it is difficult not to get the impression during labor-management negotiations that the workers cannot wait to go out on strike and are reluctant to go back to work. It has been pointed out that men strike not so much for better wages, hours and conditions, but simply to express their deep hatred of their employers, their work and their way of life." Could anything more clearly justify the Roman distrust of secular unionism?

A FINAL SUMMING UP of the labor union debacle of our time we have from one of the outstanding priest-publicists in the history of America, Father James Gillis, veteran editor of the *Catholic World*. Father Gillis, almost from his death bed a few years ago, complained that "labor leaders have become quite as tyrannical as the capitalists of years ago, and the people at large have come to condone the sins and crimes of labor . . . . Stranger still . . . professional labor which has quite generally come to violate justice and right, does so in the name of philanthropy, humanity and religion." (In Senator Kennedy's home town, Cardinal Cushing has shown his extraordinary esteem for Father Gillis by giving the priest's name to the Catholic Information Center.)

In the Roman mind, then, every phase of the labor problem is at heart moral and religious. Secularism can make labor problems and may force an agreement. But, "nothing is settled until it is settled right." The story of these 70 years since Leo XIII's Labor Encyclical is detailed confirmation of Roman religious emphasis. The Catholic social position cannot be squared with secular unionism. Such unionism can be guardedly worked with, but as such it cannot be positively approved. It was again in Boston that the Roman mind on unionism was proclaimed—this time by the late Cardinal O'Connell. "The social problem of the relations between employers and workers," he insists, "must be solved on a Christian basis, or not at all. They must face each other in the proper frame of mind springing from a Christian spirit, before even an initial step toward permanent betterment can be effected. Employers and workers must regard each other as brothers in the same great brotherhood of Christ."

If, then, a Catholic politician wishes to identify himself with our labor unions, the choice is his own; as a Catholic he is not compelled. And if Catholics critical of the record of secular unionism are likewise critical of such identification, they have only to look to Rome for their justification.

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Vol. XVII, No. 29
SECTION III

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HUMAN EVENTS
--- COMMENTARY

I believe we should not veto the admission of Communist China to the United Nations.

—ADLAI STEVENSON
(Next Secretary of State?)

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Vol. XVII, No. 29 — Section II

July 21, 1960

Dubinsky Spearheads New Labor Push

Severance Contract Clauses Commit Industry to Millions

By Victor Riesel

Mr. Pins-and-Needles, better known as the peppery David Dubinsky, leader of the Ladies Garment Workers Union, has been developing new labor demands on the six-billion-dollar industry which will startle the nation.

Latest in a series of dramatic developments is the creation of a national fund from which his followers will continue to draw wages after firms for which they worked have gone out of business.

Dubinsky has been working on this for exactly ten years. Despite his political activity on a broad national and international front, this has been one of his prime projects. The International Ladies Garment Workers Union, some 442,000 strong, will call this a centralized severance fund. Employers will throw over $6,000,000 yearly into it.

The money is funneled into health, welfare and retirement funds. Now will come a national severance fund.

The union's theory is that no employee should suffer when a firm goes bankrupt or goes out of production for any reason. Therefore, all new contracts have included a severance clause covering regional groups.

For example, earlier this month the New York Dress Joint Board leaders headed by Charles Zimmerman discussed the matter with the manufacturers just in the dress field. They already have $2,000,000 in their district kitty for severance. There are similar agreements in the ladies' cloak field, in children's dresses, in lingerie, in sportswear, etc.

Now Dubinsky plans to merge all these pools of cash into one vast national fund. This could reach $50,000,000 in a decade. In effect, it would mean that the entire industry would be guaranteeing continued wages of workers anywhere across the land wherever a firm liquidated.

This drive for unbroken wages is woven into unique stratagems for keeping production inside the union fold. For example, in Los Angeles the Ladies Garment Workers insist on contracts which force the employer to promise he will not go into a non-union business in the same line, nor buy goods from a non-union firm, nor even own stock in such a firm. Now one of those employers is suing to break such a contract.

YOU'RE AN OLD STICK-IN-THE MUD—YOU HAVE NO DARING SOLUTIONS, NO IMAGINATION!
SO YOU'RE FULL OF IMAGINATION? HOW ABOUT YOUR DARING SOLUTIONS OF CHINA-KOREA-REDS IN GOVT-SEGREGATION-PROSPERITY AND PEACE?

This is an outfit called Lee Mar, apparel makers. They went out of business last December. But the principal stockholders of Lee Mar also own a non-union firm called Gaylore of California. The Dubinsky union says, therefore, that though it has no contract with Gaylore, that firm is subject to the old Lee Mar agreement. The case is now in the California courts.

Dubinsky has also made precedent by directing his locals not to deal with certain company officials. Thus when a Beverly Hills, California, dressmaking firm hired a tough negotiator, Mrs. Edwin Selvin, as its labor expert, the union called a strike saying she was "anti-union."

The firm fired Mrs. Selvin. She went to the National Labor Relations Board charging that this was coercion. The union had no right, said she, to get her fired as a company executive. The board upheld her.

Add all this to Dubinsky's recent victory over a Virginia firm which had started producing dresses in Ireland. In the "Irish case," Dubinsky won a fund for his workers which would continue to pay them if they were laid off because of competition from Irish dress imports into the US.

This is the making of a new era in labor relations.

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Labor Reform Is Endangered

From the US Chamber's Washington Report

Some of our crucial national defense programs may be slowed or scuttled if Congress bows to union labor bosses' *demands to weaken last year's labor reform act.*

The key in this fight is the Kennedy-Thompson secondary boycott picketing bill (S. 2643, H.R. 9070). AFL-CIO officials regard its passage as an absolute "must."

At Cape Canaveral, Chamber specialists cite, Congress had its most recent taste of what would happen if the Act's boycott provisions were clipped. Machinists at the Florida missile site set up picket lines to pressure building tradesmen to stop work. A federal court promptly enjoined the boycott—so that vital defense work could go on unmolested.

The court acted under the very provisions of the Act that the bill now seeks to make inoperative at construction sites.

Stoppages have been sought by unions at Titan missile bases in Colorado and Redstone Arsenal in Alabama. Legal safeguards (which the bill would remove) have prevented union interference.

The bill would permit a single union to tie up an entire construction project. Whenever a picket appeared, all other union trade members would walk off the job. Directly or indirectly, all employers could be affected. Boycotts would be possible at all common sites of construction, alteration, repair or painting—wherever employees of more than one employer meet.

Higher labor costs, product boycotts, and union control of the construction labor market would be certain, if the bill were approved.

Big Jim Farley Rides Again!

Reprinted with permission of Jack Knox of the Nashville Banner.

Greedy Rugged Individualist Aids and Advances Socialism

By Congressman Frank T. Bow

The following story, clipped from a Rotary magazine and sent to me by Canton (Ohio) postman Bill Dornan, is causing much comment in the Capitol:

It seems a young man lived with his parents in a public housing development. He attended public school, rode the free school bus, and participated in the free lunch program. He entered the Army and upon discharge kept his national service life insurance. He then enrolled in the State University, working part time in the State capitol to supplement his GI check.

Upon graduation, he married a public health nurse and bought a farm with an FHA loan, then obtained an RFC loan to go into business. A baby was born in the county hospital. He bought a ranch with the aid of a GI loan and obtained emergency feed from the Government.

Later he put part of his land in the soil bank and the payments helped pay off his debts. His parents lived very comfortably on the ranch with their social security and old-age assistance checks. REA lines supplied electricity. The Government helped clear the land.

The county agent showed him how to terrace it, then the Government paid part of the cost of a pond and stocked it with fish. The Government guaranteed him a sale for his farm products.

Books from the public library were delivered to his door. He banked money which a Government agency insured. His children grew up, entered public schools, ate free lunches, rode free buses, played in public parks, swam in public pools, and joined the FFA. The man owned an automobile so he favored the Federal-aid highway program.

He signed a petition seeking Federal assistance in developing an industrial project to help the economy of his area. He was a leader in obtaining the new Federal building, and went to Washington with a group to ask Congress to build a great dam costing millions so that the area could get "cheap electricity."

Then, one day he wrote his Congressman:

"I wish to protest excessive government spending and high taxes. I believe in rugged individualism. I think people should stand on their own two feet without expecting handouts. I am opposed to all socialistic trends and I demand a return to the principles of our Constitution."

Wanted!

There is a cynical contention that what this country wants is continuing inflation and a fast buck economy. But I believe the great majority want the integrity of our money protected, want their form of government preserved, and want their free enterprise system to survive.

—Senator Harry F. Byrd

Victim of Propaganda Can't Fathom Truth

From the Indianapolis News

Two Russians met in a railroad station. "Where are you going?" asked the first. "To Minsk." To which the first Russian said: "You know when you tell me you are going to Minsk, I will suspect you are really going to Pinsk. But I happen to know you have business in Minsk, and are actually going there after all. So what I want to know is—why do you lie to me?"

Extraordinary Washington Official Seeks Cut in His Agency's Funds

From the Cleveland Plain Dealer

Here is one for the books, since it concerns an unprecedented incident in the history of Washington bureaucrats and congressional committees.

An official in government went before a Senate committee to testify that a proposed $5 million appropriation for his bureau was too much. He suggested a $2 million cut, saying that $3 million was plenty, all he needed.

Ever hear of such a thing?

The hero in this curious break with tradition and custom was Bradley Fisk, assistant secretary of international affairs in the Department of Commerce. He is charged with the task of directing a program aimed at bringing more tourists to the United States.

Mr. Fisk is not only an honest and conscientious bureaucrat, but a brave one. By sticking his neck out in this appropriation hearing, he is risking the hate and opposition of every other bureaucrat in Washington and government employee in the country.

Things just are not done that way. Under the accepted system, departments, bureaus and agencies are almost obligated to demand more money and more employees every year. How else could any office grow in size and importance?

Mr. Fisk is indeed a hero and a loyal citizen. He deserves public acclaim and honor. It might even be appropriate to arrange a Bradley Fisk Day, with bands, parades and the award of a medal.

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'Modern' Schools Are a Travesty

From the Council for Basic Education Bulletin

A parent in New Jersey, protesting the purchase by her school of an electric washer and dryer at a cost of over $400, was told that "the fundamentals of modern homemaking must be taught" and that anyway the dish towels from the cafeteria have to be washed.

Problem-solving in a home economics class: Future homemakers in one New England school are learning how to make biscuits—with ready mix.

"Enrichment" in the same field: According to the curriculum guide of one midwestern city, bright girls in home economics classes can have what is called "accelerated learning experiences." These turn out to be arranging the bulletin board, going to the supermarket to examine meats and vegetables —and "interviewing boys in school to find out what they like and dislike in girls."

One CBE parent tells us that his son in the first grade brought home a report card on which he was marked "Very Good" in "small muscle development"—meaning he could flex his fingers. It also contained the encouraging observation, "Skipping much better."

Independent Voters Just 'Sit and Howl'

By Congressman Bruce Alger

A precinct worker was doing her campaign canvassing in a rural area when she knocked on the door of a dilapidated farm dwelling. To her inquiry about the political preferences of the family, the rather tired and overworked looking farm woman, an infant perched on an outstretched hip, snorted, "Well, Lady, that's hard to say. The baby's a Wet; the cow's a Dry; I'm a Democrat; Paw's a Republican; and that old dog over there is an Independent." The canvasser queried, "Independent?" The answer: "Yep—you see, he really don't do nothing at all. Just sits around on his tail all day and howls."

Seven-Day Wonders Expound On Russia

By Senator Soaper in the Richmond Times Dispatch

Many American tourists will visit Russia this year. Some will stay for two days, which entitles them to show their slides to the local Rotawanis Club back home, while others will be in Moscow for a week and can then address the state convention on "Economic, Social and Political Trends in the Soviet Union."

Minimum Wage

The bill to raise the minimum wage and broaden its coverage . . . is a monster. It is very dangerous in that, if enacted, it will, in my opinion, defeat the very object it nominally seeks.

—CONGRESSMAN HIESTAND

Two United Auto Workers Sue Reuther

From the New York Daily News

A couple of United Auto Workers members have filed suit in a Detroit federal court against UAW President Walter Reuther and Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey.

They allege that Reuther has misused millions of UAW dollars by playing politics with them.

Mazey has rushed into print to call this "a nuisance, crank lawsuit intended to harass the UAW because of its effective work in the field of political education and political action."

That is for the court to decide. Until it does so, Mazey had better keep his mouth shut. Such efforts to influence pending lawsuits are customarily treated as contempt of court by judges who are not beholden to organized labor or any other special-interest groups.

Ideologically Violent Young People Provide Cause for Serious Alarm

By Walter Trohan

From the dawn of time, education has been regarded as a preparation for taking place in the family, the community, and the nation. The young were taught to make their contribution to the family by being trained in various tasks. They were taught how to make a living or how to serve others. And they were brought up, as Cicero put it, by their country "so that we may devote to its use the finest capacities of mind, talent and understanding."

Now in various parts of the world and in our land, it is the young who are doing the teaching. There are those among us who applaud the part taken by students against the government in power in their fatherland in spite of its violence and without regard to whether or not the students are informed.

What Do They Know?

Although this in no wise is intended to disparage our youth, most of whom are essentially sound, it is certainly fitting and proper to inquire as to whether or not students know anything about anything at all or, what may be more exact, whether they know anywhere near as much as they think they do. A number of recent incidents give us cause for serious concern, and they do not involve zip guns, slit knives, or other paraphernalia of juvenile delinquency.

In New York City, a high school graduation ceremony was broken up by a tumult of jeering, hissing, boos and cheers when an American Legion award was presented to one of the graduates. In another school an honor graduate spurned a Legion award because he could not take a citation "from an organization whose policies I can't respect."

Self-Centered "Genius"

It would seem that this self-centered "genius" had no regard for the bloodshed and danger encountered by members of the American Legion, who made it possible for him to get his education and a scholarship to one of the nation's foremost colleges, whose faculty numbers many who hold the same views of the American Legion as he does.

Also in New York City, six students refused to take the oath of allegiance or to affirm their allegiance to the state and federal constitutions, which is required of all graduates. The six showed no gratitude to the community, the state, and the nation, which made it possible for them to get their educations.

We can wonder whether there was not something amiss in their education, but it is most unlikely that they were not taught to be loyal citizens of the state and nation. It is most likely that they decided out of immaturity to sneer at patriotism, as did those who jeered and booed the American Legion award.

Did Not Learn

It is also evident that they did not learn lessons of courtesy, either at home or in the school.

In Newport, R. I., thousands of youths rioted because they could not get into the Newport Jazz festival. Local police were powerless against the milling mob of about 12,000 youths. Neighboring communities sent reserves, the national guard was called out, and the Newport naval base furnished marines. Firemen brought high pressure hoses into play. Several dozen persons were treated for cuts caused by flying beer cans and bottles.

Not Just a Fling

Some will say youth will have its fling. If that be so, it should be confined to tearing down goal posts and organized cheering. After watching films of Japan's dancing leftist demonstrators against the United States and President Eisenhower, we can wonder whether we should not discourage organized snake dancing.

Dorothy Thompson reports that she made a personal survey among youths to attempt to discover what virtues they most admired. She found them voting for "tolerance" and "kindness," rather than for "responsibility." It may be that she has come upon the answer to what the world needs—more responsibility in its youth and less youthful leadership.

Biggest problem of the Democrats is how to extract money from the taxpayers without annoying the voters—F. Kriebel

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Schlesinger Blasts Private Indulgence

Reprinted from Printers' Ink July 1, 1960. Copyright 1960, Printers' Ink Publishing Company

Americans are spending too much money on consumer goods and too little on national needs. Advertising and marketing are largely responsible. Advertising should be taxed.

Those opinions are the basis of a booklet released last week, for "private distribution" by the Democratic Advisory Council. Titled "The Big Decision: Private Indulgence or National Power?" the 23-page report was written by Arthur Schlesinger Jr., Harvard professor and a personal adviser to Democratic Presidential aspirant Senator John Kennedy. Because it was released by the Democratic Advisory Council, however, it is probable that Schlesinger's thinking helped shape the Democratic platform.

Schlesinger states flatly that the real difference between the two parties is that Republicans want more private spending spurred by more advertising, while the Democrats want more public spending and less advertising.

Showers Blows

In this important policy statement, Schlesinger showers blows on what he terms the Republican "view that everything should be sacrificed to the sale of goods on the consumer market." The US has neglected the needs for public education, slum clearance, defense, and many other things, Schlesinger charges.

"During the decade of the fifties, Americans spent three times as much money on advertising as they did on higher education," says Schlesinger. "As a consequence of this investment of our wealth, every American today knows he can get a television set for his rumpus room, but few can be certain, even if they have the money, that they can get a college education for their son or daughter. Under the Eisenhower-Nixon theory, in short, our society is geared to producing television sets and rumpus rooms, but not scientists or scholars . . . .

"Cities Rot Away"

"Private interests have priority over public interest and everyone's making a fast buck is supposed to insure the common good," states Schlesinger. "The public sector—everything from schools to missiles—takes second place. While consumer goods heap up in our attics and basements, while our advertising system knocks itself out trying to create new wants which will require more and more private goods and services, while more and more of our resources are absorbed in the 'style racket' and 'design obsolescence' and the consumer-spending merry-go-round, the public framework of society, on which everything else rests, is overstrained by population growth and undercut by neglect. Our cities rot away, our suburbs grow more chaotic, our schools more overcrowded, our teachers more underpaid, our roads more dangerous, our national parks more unkept, our air and our streams more polluted, our law enforcement more harried and unsatisfactory, a sixth of the nation lingers in scandalous poverty, our weapons development and foreign aid grow more tragically inadequate." Public good is sacrificed to private indulgence in more subtle ways also, according to Schlesinger.

A case in point, he claims, is our postal system, which delivers mail to most American homes only once a day.

"We cannot 'afford,' in other words, to provide the American householder with the mail service which would be regarded as minimal in Great Britain and France. Yet characteristically, we can 'afford' to subsidize advertisers to stuff our mail slots with what is known in the trade as 'junk mail,' most of which we hurriedly transfer unopened from mailbox to wastebasket. Why this discrimination in favor of the commercial advertiser and against the personal correspondent? What possible inversion of values can justify charging four cents for the messages of love or sympathy which bind people together and two cents for messages designed just to make someone a fast buck? Since commercial advertisements constitute about three-fourths of all US mail, we might, by reversing the charges, at one stroke lighten the burden on the postal system and put the Post Office budget in better shape."

In his booklet, Schlesinger crosses swords directly with one of the Republicans' top policy men—Dr. Raymond J. Saulnier, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers and a personal adviser to Vice-President Nixon. According to Schlesinger, Saulnier once summed up his theory of the American economy thus: "Its ultimate purpose is to produce more consumer goods. This is the goal. This is the object of everything that we are working at: to produce things for consumers."

The President

Schlesinger comments, "Not to produce better people or better schools or better health or better communities or better opportunities for cultural and spiritual development; not even to produce better guided missiles—but to produce more things to be sold at a profit—more gadgets and gimmicks to overwhelm our bodies and distract our minds. The President of the United States has repeatedly identified himself with this position."

Taxation might have to be used to provide the revenues for greater public spending. Schlesinger turns his guns once more on advertising: "There are unexplored possibilities in taxation—not only plugging loopholes, such as percentage depletion on oil, but taxing *things* to help people, such as, for example, a tax on advertising."

'Liberal' California Fires Teacher For Revealing A Dissenting View

From the Richmond News Leader

Year by year, California emerges among the most "liberal" States in the Union. Its most recent contribution to the Senate, replacing the right-wing Bill Knowland, is the left-wing Clair Engle. Governor Pat Brown is a West Coast darling of East Coast Liberals. California's delegation in the House includes 16 Democrats who unvaryingly vote for *any* increase in public spending.

Days of McCarthy

With this background, it is therefore passing strange to read of the case of Jack Owens, a teacher at a small public junior college in Lassen County. If there is one cause most dear to the Liberal heart, it is the cause of free speech, and this cause is especially dear in an academic community. To punish a teacher for speaking freely, as we learned during the days of Senator McCarthy, is the most unthinkable thing anyone ever thought of.

For Writing Newspaper

But Mr. Owens has just been fired. His sin: He wrote five letters to the "Open Forum" of the Lassen *Advocate*, a weekly newspaper at Susanville, in which he dast to criticize the California Teachers Association. This was termed "unprofessional conduct."

Under California law, Mr. Owens was entitled to a judicial review of his dismissal in the local Superior Court. It was an interesting trial, for the only expert testimony that could be admitted in evidence was a report from an expert panel, named by, of all people, the California Teachers Association. At the conclusion of the trial, Judge A. K. Wylie upheld Owens' dismissal, and declared that the teacher's letters had criticized California schools unjustly and unfairly.

The ACLU

We pass these tidings along, gleaned from an indignant bulletin of the American Civil Liberties Union, only to marvel once more at the illiberalism of the professional liberal at work. The trial of Mr. Owens came on the heels of the trial of three union members in Los Angeles, who contested their expulsion from the Machinists Union for "disloyalty." Their crime, it will be recalled, was to support a right-to-work proposition in California.

Owe It To Themselves

In our own benighted groves of arch reaction, here in the Deep South, dissent appears to flourish like the green bay tree. Our teaching institutions are populated with professors who tend to support every unpopular point of view at the top of their eloquent lungs. This is not thought to be "unprofessional" or "disloyal." It is thought to be the normal function of free men in a free society. Californians owe it to themselves to get acquainted with this novel proposition known as free speech. In the end, both their schools and their labor unions would be stronger for it.

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Human Events THE WASHINGTON NEWSLETTER

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The Real Victor at L. A.: The real conqueror at the Democratic convention last week was not Senator John F. Kennedy—it was Walter Reuther, boss of the United Auto Workers union and uncrowned king of the American labor movement.

From our correspondents on the spot, and from deliberating pros in the Capital, this stark fact transcends all the other judgments of commentators and columnists. As it becomes more fully and vividly realized, it is expected to have profound effects on various elements in the Democratic party and on the strategists of the Republican party. To the extent that the GOP brings this out in the upcoming campaign, the underlying issue of the election will be clarified for the people who go to the polls in November.

As the delegates headed for home, one remark got wide currency—"Reuther won a big rubber." Here follows the recap of the harvest of the Labor Boss:

(1) He got his best available candidate for the President, Senator Kennedy, who has courted his favor for the past four years and whose voting record is entirely satisfactory to the man in Michigan.

(2) He had to take Johnson, but that was not too difficult to swallow, after some consultations. The Labor Boss knows that Johnson's over-all voting is approximately as "liberal" as Kennedy's. (The ACA—Americans for Constitutional Action—voting Index rates Lyndon at 10 per cent in adhering to constitutional principles and Jack at 11 per cent, as compared with Senator Barry Goldwater's scoring 98 per cent.)

(3) All observers agree that the new National Chairman is Reuther-controlled. Senator Jackson is quite palatable to Reuther. His ACA voting score is 1 per cent, identical with Senator Humphrey's, while independent Democratic Senator Harry Byrd rates 92 per cent.

(4) The UAW boss, said the AP, was "jubilant" over the passage of the ultra-leftist platform. As analyzed by experts, Reuther got *his* platform made the official platform. Prominently, it contained a typically Reutherian civil rights division; promised to do dire things to the Landrum-Griffin reform measure, to the essence of the Taft-Hartley Act and to Federal sanction of state right-to-work laws; and not the least, put the Democrats on record for Reuther's socialistic blue-prints of a welfare state, such as the planks on education, housing, care of aged, give-away of various sorts, etc. All these, say our correspondents, constituted the maximum demands of Reuther. And, as more than one observer remarked, "The labor bosses and liberals have nailed Kennedy to that plaform."

(This outcome should come as no surprise to readers of HUMAN EVENTS. On February 11, 1960, we reported that Reuther had made deals with Kennedy, Symington and Humphrey, promising final and decisive support to the one who showed best; in return, Reuther got a pledge that he would name the Chairman of the party. Our interpretation was: this ensured Reuther control of the party if the Democrat won; if he didn't, Reuther would control the party for the subsequent four years through the Chairman-caretaker. All this pattern has been rather surprisingly confirmed—except one possibility mentioned in our story: that this caretaker would provide the basis for a build-up for Reuther himself in '64 . . . .)

This extraordinary labor-political boss—the real "genius" of the convention, remarked our principal convention correspondent (himself an old pro, former Senator Owen Brewster of Maine)—operated decisively but very, very quietly from a suite in the Statler-Hilton Hotel in downtown Los Angeles and his successful activities were most effectively masked against any publicity.

The Ides of July, it now seems, had been predestined as Reuther's "moment of truth." The labor boss victory in the off-year election of 1958 had not brought the rewards which had been expected. The CIO-PAC political machine had achieved a sweeping victory in the balloting, but the congressional members had reneged on the labor-mortgage which they had incurred. Popular reaction plus effective work by the GOP Administration had put over the Landrum-Griffin bill in 1959, and many mortgagors had turned their back on the labor lobby and voted their constituents' will. This should not happen again; a bigger victory was necessary in 1960—such was the judgment of the AFL-CIO.

Another more timely factor hastened Reuther to his essential task in this month of July. Victor Riesel, expert commentator on labor affairs, noting the number of strikes called or in process (in which management is putting up a scrap), said "the showdown fight is on." Many of the struck firms have the same customer—the US Government. The union bosses want that customer on their side—as FDR and Truman used to be; the bosses can't trust

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Ike or Nixon to intervene to the union's advantage. But Kennedy, with his record of accommodation to union ideas, could be trusted—they felt.

Hence, the supercharged dynamo from Detroit worked with prodigious skill and energy at Los Angeles—and may be expected to put on the biggest labor political action show in American history, between now and November.

Khrushchev's Candidate: In the view of veteran observers, the Stevenson demonstration, which came when the two-time loser's name was placed in nomination, was Communist inspired and organized. Party members—gauged at 30 to 40 per cent of the demonstrations—served as herdmasters for "the damndest collection of eggheads and beatniks you ever saw in your life," as described by our correspondent in L. A.

The gallery, in anticipation of the occasion, had been packed by skillful maneuver. The Stevenson "followers," originally having obtained 30 tickets, took their seats, then gave their tickets to one of their number who went outside to distribute them to others of their organization. This was repeated until the Sports Arena was stacked to the rafters with Stevenson people.

During the demonstration, Lyndon Johnson pointed to the gallery and exclaimed: "You can see where the cheering comes from."

A long-memoried labor leader, watching the strange outburst, recalled the event as exactly what happened in 1948, when Henry Wallace's name was placed in nomination at the similarly Commie-infiltrated Progressive party convention:

"Poor old Henry. I discovered right during the convention what was going on but Henry didn't find out until afterwards."

All the while, Mrs. Roosevelt and Senator Lehman sat smiling on the rostrum as "their" choice for President of the United States received the acclaim of "his" people. And they smiled as if unaware that Khrushchev has publicly indicated that Stevenson would be his preference.

Kennedy, in the moment of victory, dodged questions as to whether he would make Stevenson his Secretary of State, if he won.

GOP Second Place: Unexpected switcheroo by which the versatile Kennedy fabricated a hybrid ticket, with Lyndon Johnson as his running mate, apparently to balance his own extremely "liberal" profile, has the pros gasping. Of course (as often stressed in HUMAN EVENTS), Johnson is a "liberal" himself, with a "liberal" voting record. But he has bamboozled many moderates and gullible conservatives into accepting him as at least a "moderate conservative." The bedazzled pros concede that young Jack has proved sharply to GOP pros the necessity for going Kennedy one better. If the Democratic nominee can utilize a "fictitious" conservative as a balance wheel, it is all the more essential that Nixon balance his own ticket. That means militantly conservative Senator Barry Goldwater as VP, to galvanize the conservative GOP vote, and to pick up many Jeffersonian Democrats, especially in the South, who now regard Lyndon—as to use the ultimate in opprobrium—a "scalawag." It is known that some high Republican members of Congress will soon get in touch with Nixon to urge this course.

Meanwhile, the Republican propaganda directors are gloating over the veritable arsenal of brick-bats they will prepare against the Democrats, gratuitously provided by the damning things the VP candidate said about his running mate.

Rockefeller: The "Stevenson Demonstration" at the Democratic convention so impressed the Rockefeller forces that they will attempt to duplicate it in Chicago at next week's Republican convention. Arrangements have been made for trainloads of Rocky fans to arrive from New York. Fifty thousand expensive "twinkle" buttons will be distributed. Rocky's name probably will be placed in nomination by Senator Javits.

The object of this program is to lend credence to the "liberal" propaganda that "the people want Rocky; the bosses want Nixon." Rocky's leaders are aiming for Nixon's defeat in 1960 to set up Nelson's victory in 1964. The "Draft Rockefeller" headquarters opened last weekend in Chicago headed by San Francisco lawyer William Brinton, who reportedly bankrolled the recent nationwide full page ads calling for Rocky's nomination.

Southern Report: Southern Democrats are stunned, angry and confused as a result of the stinging slap they received in Los Angeles from the Northern branch of their party, and the naming of Lyndon Johnson as the VP candidate did little to assuage their chagrin. A telephonic roundup by HUMAN EVENTS staff members discloses there is no Southern grand strategy to combat the Civil Rights plank.

In the wake of the naming of the ticket, there continues no little talk about some of the Deep South states' resorting to the "free electors" plan of voting against the national Democratic ticket.

Governor Barnett of Mississippi says his state already has machinery in motion to place free electors on the ballot and "we will elect them."

South Carolina reports the Mississippi movement "might catch fire" and Thomas A. Wofford, Democratic wheelhorse of the Palmetto State, is quoted as saying the national Democratic party "might as well write off South Carolina."

"There is strong Goldwater sentiment here," the state's leading editor told HUMAN EVENTS, "and a straight Republican vote may be preferable to a Democratic vote.

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"South Carolinians feel they have been betrayed," was the way he put it, "and we will have to see which way the state convention decides to go."

"I feel as though I had buried a friend," was the way one Virginia leader expressed himself to HUMAN EVENTS, in speaking of the national Democratic party. "My phone has been rung off by people who have never before shown an interest in politics. We just aren't going to take this. No," he replied to a question, "I can't say what we are going to do, not yet. We will have to wait until the convention reconvenes."

Capitol Camera: Senator Styles Bridges, commenting on the costs of just "half of what is promised" in the Democratic platform, declared the American taxpayer would be "faced with a $100 billion Federal budget." He said he, for one, would rather see the present $80 billion budget "reduced rather than increased."

• *The Democrats turned down a platform amendment which called for reduction each year of the National Debt, although their platform calls for "fiscal responsibility."*

• The Committee for the More Effective Use of the World Court, headed by Judge Learned Hand, had its way among the Democrats: one plank calls for repeal of the Connally Amendment. The Committee is expected to campaign for a similar plank at the GOP shebang in Chicago.

• *"The tension was so great at the Democratic convention that one delegate cracked up completely and came out for 'fiscal responsibility'"—observed Fletcher Knebel in his Washington* Star *column.*

• While the Democratic Platform called for an end to right-to-work laws, statistics from the Department of Labor show that from 1953-58 the RTW states gained a total of 989,400 additional nonfarm jobs while the non-RTW states lost 136,000. Wage rates rose 37 cents in RTW states, 38 in non-RTW states.

Two Political Has-Beens: California's penchant for electing governors destined to stagnate in the nation's political backwash was never better pointed up than on the Los Angeles Sports Arena floor when Governor Pat Brown looked up to find his way blocked by his predecessor, Goodwin Knight, erstwhile Republican governor of the Golden State.

Goodie, the old soft shoe, explained his presence by saying he now is a television announcer and as such was qualified to attend the Democratic clambake.

As for Brown, his rapid descent into political obscurity is the talk of political circles everywhere. In the California election of convention delegates, the one-time darling of the political left lost 600,000 votes to George McClain, pension promoter. Later, at the convention, he could not even deliver a majority of his own delegation to the ultimate winner, Kennedy. His ineptness has tagged him.

The Democratic Platform: With the bold policy of a Robin Hood, the Democratic platform this year—as ever—promised to rob the rich to pay the poor. And the best way to rob the rich, according to the Democrats, is to draw up the inflationary, spendthrift, high-tax planks demanded by the Labor Union Moguls. No one was surprised that AFL-CIO chieftain, George Meany, claimed the platform "the most progressive" in his memory.

For the platform promised Meany that the Democrats (if elected) would end the right-to-work laws in the 19 states, one of Meany's main objectives. It complained that Taft-Hartley had "seriously weakened" the unions; it attacked the GOP's administration of the 1959 labor reform act curtailing labor's monopoly powers; it called for more freedom to picket and raising of the minimum wage to $1.25, which even Secretary of Labor Mitchell, honored recently by the AFL-CIO, feels would severely hurt many retail business concerns.

On other domestic problems, the Democrats called for restoration of 90 per cent of parity (which led to the surplus problem they also denounced). And they would spend more for defense, education, health, the aged, and urban renewal (administered by a Cabinet department) without, it is claimed, raising taxes or unbalancing the budget. How? Through closing the "loopholes" in the tax laws and "expanding the economy." Though how the economy would

HON. CHARLES RAPER JONAS, Member of Congress from North Carolina: "I read every issue of HUMAN EVENTS as soon as it comes to my desk and find it informative and stimulating."

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"expand" wasn't clear. It would grow, apparently on a Houdini theory that if the Federal Government spends the taxpayers' money the economy is somehow growing more than if the taxpayers spend it themselves.

The Civil Rights plank called for creation of a Fair Employment Practices Commission and an end to literacy tests, which, noted a New York *Times* correspondent, would give the ballot privilege to thousands of illiterate Puerto Ricans in New York.

The platform was surprisingly strong on foreign policy, opposing Red China's recognition and calling for the strong defense of Formosa, as well as Berlin. Still, the plank left Senator Kennedy room to abandon the offshore islands of Quemoy and the Matsus, as he stated he might do.

As expected, there was a clause to repeal the Connally Amendment, which protects the US from the World Court's interfering in its domestic affairs.

On internal security, the platform opposed the student loyalty oath taken by students getting funds under the National Defense Education Act. And it called for confrontation by witnesses of their accusers in loyalty-security hearings, in the face of FBI protests that this would cripple much of the effectiveness of the loyalty program.

Kennedy Austerity: Following on the heels of Democratic Professor Schlesinger's "The Big Decision: Private Indulgence or National Power?" (See Commentary, Section II), the trade journal *Women's Wear Daily* comes up with some interesting information. Negating eight years of Democratic criticism of "conspicuous consumption," the wife and mother of Candidate Jack Kennedy have recently been on a spending spree—spending more than $30,000 a year, "more than most US professional buyers" shopping in Paris.

"The French couture ranks both as among the biggest United States private customers, who pay nothing less than $350 and up into the thousands for a Paris couture model," says the dispatch. While French designers report that both ladies dress "well," they further state that the younger Mrs. Kennedy probably has the edge. She is reported to make her orders from sketches, "like a mail order catalogue," and likes her clothes to be more dramatic than those of her mother-in-law—a "little sporty" such as, reported in another *Women's Wear* article, the clothes that "had everyone agog at the Hyannis (Mass.) airport when she arrived in tight tapered cerise slacks topped by a bulky sweater."

Schlesinger, Jack Kennedy's economic adviser, theorizes that Americans are allowed to spend too much on such as television sets and do-it-yourself rumpus rooms and hence that "the public sector—everything from schools to missiles—takes second place."

Still from *Women's Wear*: "At Balmain's, Mrs. Joseph P. Kennedy asked for 'a nice little dress suitable for lunch with a Cardinal.'" She may now, after the Democratic convention, be planning to return to Paris to order "a nice little dress suitable for breakfast with a President."

POPPA: Joseph E. Kennedy, father of the successful Democratic hopeful, got a severe roughing-up at the hands of Lyndon Johnson and others at the convention, and—so far as can be determined—quite undeservedly. (Ironically, Lyndon this week would probably like to eat his words.) The charge was made that the elder Kennedy, when he served as US Ambassador to England (1937-40), had been "pro-Nazi" and had failed to carry out Roosevelt's anti-Nazi foreign policy.

In the opinion of observers stationed at that time in England, both charges are false. Kennedy actually carried out—although sometimes unhappily—the missions given him by FDR and the State Department very efficiently. As for the accusation of being "pro-Nazi," that never held water. It was a stone thrown at the US Ambassador by such leftists and pro-Communists as Aneurin Bevan.

What these Russophiles did not like about the Senior Kennedy was that, in his reports to Washington, he accurately reflected and favored the then prevailing view of the British Foreign Office; the Foreign Office was trying to avoid conflict with the rapidly rising power of Hitler and was seeking to turn the dynamism of belligerent Nazi Germany to the East, against Soviet Russia. "Let the Huns and Vandals destroy each other so that Western democracy might survive"—was one description of this policy. Not only Kennedy but other US diplomatic and military men—like General A. C. Wedemeyer—shared that view. The present plight of the West offers confirmation of the intelligence of their advice which was overruled. Also, Kennedy was reportedly disturbed, when Ambassador, by Roosevelt's moves to get the US into war; other Americans, such as former President Hoover, took the same attitude.

All in all, many in the Capital rate poppa as a man of some sound political thinking which unfortunately he has not impressed on his son Jack.

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